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Sir Harry Johnston made this classification abundantly clear in his monumental work published in 1919,[1] and the recent translation and revision of Carl Meinhof's important work on Bantu phonology[2] has used Umbundu extensively for illustrative material. It should now be abundantly clear to all that Umbundu is the northernmost of the Southern Bantu languages, and that in their language the Ovimbundu have elements in common with their southern neighbours.

Traditional Histories. Each of the principal groups among the Ovimbundu has legends with regard to the migrations of their forefathers and the country from which they came. For the most part these legends refer to ancestors of the respective royal families, but some references are also made to the people whom these new-comers found in the country which they came to occupy. All of these legends point to countries of origin in the north or north-east. Several writers have noted this as a fact,[3] but it is necessary to take more explicit notice of each of several legends.

Ndulu has not received as much notice as have some of the other Umbundu kingdoms, but I have come to the conclusion that it is perhaps one of the oldest. The tradition runs that the progenitor of the dynasty, Katekula-Mengo, was an elephant-hunter and that he came with his wife, Ukungu (also called Mbala) from the region of the confluence of the Luandu and the Kuanza rivers. Following elephant-herds down the course of the Kuanza they passed the famous rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo and in them left the imprints of Katekula-Mengo's bow and of Ukungu's basket, which, it is said, may be seen to this day; for in that early day the rocks had not yet hardened but were like fresh concrete. This couple

Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 1915, pp. 398 ff.). This writer also interestingly and properly shows how the name Kimbundu came to be mistakenly applied to the Ngola or Ndongo language. The error, however, still continues to be propagated (e.g. *vide* A. Miranda Magalhães, 'Os Ambundus de Angola', &c., in *Trabalhos do I° Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, Pôrto, 1934, vol. ii, pp. 536–55). This article contains so little of value that a systematic refutation would not be worth while. The writer's notions on the Bantu migrations seem especially fantastic.

[1] *A Comparative Vocabulary of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, vol. i.

[2] Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*, translated, revised, and enlarged (Berlin and London, 1932).

[3] J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 34 f. W. D. Hambly (*The Ovimbundu of Angola*) notes this fact at the beginning of his otherwise rather confused chapter on 'Historical Sources'.

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came to the region of Ndulu and wished tc settle but could not (i.e. without permission), since they were strangers and newcomers. Thereupon a certain elder of the country, Kakoko by name, caused them to build, first at Ngumba and later at Ndulu-yolosima. Their two sons fought for the succession: Cikolongonjo won and set about to consolidate his position by conquering the va Luimbi, who then left the country. He also won over the region of Kapeyo (*Capeio*), although not by force of arms but through trickery,[1] or superior knowledge. The sixth in the succession and a great-grandson of Katekula-Mengo was Kakulukusu, whc, it is said, was a nephew[2] of Cingi I of Bailundu, and was also taken to Luanda when the latter was imprisoned. Historical records show that this was at the end of the campaign of 1774–6.[3] It is chiefly this historical connexion which leads me to place the beginning of Cikolongonjo's rule at about 1680. With regard to the migration of Katekula-Mengo and Ukungu, it seems reasonable to advance the hypothesis that its immediate cause may have been the prolonged wars between the Portuguese and the kingdom of Angola, which ended in 1671 with the taking of the royal residence in the rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo and its conversion into a presidio. The highland country of Ndulu offered a remote and peaceful refuge.

The Bailundu tradition states that when Katiavala came from Cipala (*Quibala*), he settled in Mbonga and came to visit Mbulu whose village on the capital hill had at first been built only as a hunter's camp, but, largely by reason of its strategical location, had become, or was becoming, the capital of Bailundu. Mbulu gave Katiavala his daughter to wife, which indicates that Mbulu had also come from the same northern stock. There was a good opportunity when Mbulu and his people were away on a hunt, and Katiavala with his followers occupied the capital, while Mbulu

[1] Kapeyo was ruling over the region now called after him. When Cikolongonjo demanded that he submit, Kapeyo agreed only if he should lose in the *elembe* test, which is used in the dry season by putting out cloths by night to find which will be wet in the morning. In this case they left the *alembe* (pl.) out while they went on a hunt, but on returning Cikolongonjo's *elembe*, which was a kerchief, was wet with the spiritual blessing, whereas Kapeyo's, which was paper (since he evidently had not known the difference) was quite destroyed. Kapeyo, having lost, left the country and settled in Viye. It is significant to find articles of European manufacture mentioned in this tradition, which is one of the oldest of Umbundu records; also to note that the invaders from the north were already familiar with such things while the local inhabitants were not.

[2] Cingi was *inamu* (mother's brother) to Kakulukusu.

[3] See historical chart *infra*, p. 224 f.

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took refuge near the Keve River and called his village Eyula,[1] but it was afterwards called Cimbulu after the founder. The dynasty of Katiavala has ruled Bailundu ever since and has also maintained its connexion with Cipala, which was subject to Bailundu until the end of the last century, at the time of effective European occupation. From Cipala has come the queen, the king's principal wife. Katiavala's son Cingi was the third in succession. As has already been noted,[2] he was captured by the Portuguese in 1776 and died in the fortress of São Miguel in Luanda.[3] This date enables us to place the beginning of Katiavala's dynasty at not earlier than about 1700.

The Viye legend has been told by Dr. J. T. Tucker,[4] and before that was given by Major Serpa Pinto.[5] A recent publication of excerpts from the diaries and notes of A. F. Silva Porto gives a slightly different version of the same legend, together with a few notes on the traditional history of Viye (Bie) until the year 1867.[6] Some of these latter are very valuable and enable us to fix more surely the actual or approximate dates of a number of the kings of Viye. Where Silva Porto's data on the earliest days of Viye conflict with those traditionally current, which latter have also been accepted by Serpa Pinto (1878) and by Tucker (1927), I feel that the former must be taken with considerable reserve. Viye, an elephant-hunter of the Humbi people, was tracking his game down the valley of the Kuanza River when he visited the village of Etalala for a beer-drink. There he saw and loved Kahanda, a princess of the Songo people, and they were married. When Viye died he was buried at Kahoko and his spirit is still expected to furnish the country with rain. The younger son, Kahoko, built up the kingdom of that name, which remained subject to Ekovongo, the new capital, built by the older son Ulundu.[7] It is interesting to note the union of the two tribal groups in this legend: the Songo of the north-east and the Humbi who now live in the south.[8] This legend also

[1] From *Yula*, the root of the verb 'to be overcome'.

[2] See *supra*, p. 171.

[3] See historical chart *infra*, p. 224.

[4] Op. cit., p. 34 f.

[5] Major A. A. da Rocha de Serpa Pinto, *How I crossed Africa*, vol. i, p. 156 f.

[6] A. A. F. da Silva Porto, *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África* (Excerptos do seu Diário) (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942), pp. 165–71.

[7] This name came from Viye's people—cf. the Mulondo, a tribe related to the Humbi.

[8] They had previously lived farther north, however, in the region of Ndondi

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has it that the people then in the country, apart from the Songo, were 'Ngangela'[1] tribes. Magyar[2] has given different tradition with regard to the origin of the kingdom of Viye. He says that the forefathers came from the land of 'Moropu'[3] about three hundred years previously under the two chiefs 'Kinguri and Schakambundi', and, having conquered 'Masongo', settled on the Luandu River, engaging in agriculture between raids. They had the custom of eating their prisoners, and when there were not enough prisoners they lapsed into internecine warfare and ate each other. Certain leaders began to fear tribal suicide and formed a secret society of buffalo-hunters (*'empakasserros'*), pledged to give up cannibalism by substituting the flesh of the buffalo. When the tribal elder (the 'Jaga') suspected the innovation and objected strenuously, rather than fight the buffalo-hunters moved away and settled on the Kuanza River. After a further subdivision of the tribe, one party, 'under a certain Bihe', went south to the Kukema River, where 'Ganguella' were living, and founded the kingdom of 'Bihe'. Later on, continues Magyar, the people of the 'Jaga' mixed with neighbouring tribes, took on milder manners, and finally found themselves in the land of Kassanji 'near the Kingdom of the well-known Jaga of Kassanji'. This tradition related by Magyar cannot be completely harmonized with the familiar legend of Viye and Kahanda. I have given that tradition as Viye elders told it to me, and have noted that it had already been recorded before. Since these two traditions are at variance, since the version gotten by Serpa Pinto in 1878 is the same one and the only one which is current to-day, and since it is unlikely that in only twenty-one years, between 1857 (when Magyar was in Viye) and 1878, a tradition as interesting as that of the buffalo-hunters should have been forgotten, I am inclined to hypothecate that the source (whether immediate or remote) of the tradition given by Magyar was *not* Viye, but perhaps Songo or even Lunda, both of which regions were visited by Magyar. This report probably contains

where, near Chinguar, is the place called Saviye (Father of Viye); and later, in Ngalangi, whence, according to Ngalangi tradition, came Viye (cf. *infra*).

[1] 'Ngangela' is a deprecatory term by which the Ovimbundu designate the Luimbi, Cimbandi, Lucazi, Nyemba, Ngonzelo, Cokue, and other tribes who live to the east.

[2] Op. cit., p. 266 f.

[3] Dias de Carvalho (*Ethnographia e História Tradicional dos povos da Lunda*, p. 66) explains that this was a term which *os nossos antigos viajantes* applied to Lunda.

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167 173 traditional elements of truth and value, especially since it agrees with the other traditions in tracing descent to Songo, and since its connecting of Songo with the people of Lunda is substantiated by the traditional histories given by Dias de Carvalho,[1] and by Ferreira Diniz.[2] The tradition of Viye, the elephant-hunter of Humbi, is of further interest through the definite connexion which it gives with the people of the south.

Serpa Pinto's version of the Viye traditional history[3] is interesting for its substantial agreement with the tradition current to-day. He gives a genealogical table containing the same number of kings as the table which I got in 1938,[4] and with only two or three differences which might, even so, be resolved. Serpa Pinto was interested in determining dates, which he might easily have done had he bothered to look up the records. Kangombe, the fourth king who 'mounted the stool' in Ekovongo and grandson of Ulundu, the founder, had been sold to Luanda as a slave by his brother Njilahulu for adultery with one of Njilahulu's wives. In Luanda he became a favourite of the governor, was sponsored by him for baptism, and then took the name of his sponsor, Dom Antonio de Lancastre.[5] Returning to Viye, he took with him some very material help in arms and a few warriors. Dom Antonio de Lancastre held the office of governor from 1772 to 1779. Since there was war in Bailundu, &c., between 1773 and 1776, Kangombe's return was probably toward the end of Dom Antonio's term of office—say, 1778. This being the case, the founding of Viye was probably about 1750.

The Ngalangi tradition also tells of this connexion in another way, but it is of especial interest because it is the only one which attempts to relate the beginning of things. Feti it was, say the Ngalangi elders, who began, that is to say, he came down from above, and whence he came is not known. Inasmuch as he had no wives, he went to a certain lagoon of the Kunene River and there he caught his wives as they came up out of the reeds. To this day, it is said, there may be seen in the rocks by that lagoon the imprints of Feti's foot and of the foot of his dog. Feti's wives were Tembo

[1] Op. cit., p. 94 f.
[2] Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola* (Coimbra, 1918).
[3] Op. cit., p. 156 f.
[4] Op. cit., p. 160.
[5] The story was related by Silva Porto more than once. *Vide* op. cit., p. 167; also *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., p. 27.

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and Coya and Cīvi.[1] Now Coya's child was ill and she begged Cīvi to help by blowing the breath of life back into him. Cīvi refused because of jealousy: the child died, and ever since then death has clung to us. That, then, is the beginning of Feti. Very soon Feti parted with his son Ngola who went to Luanda to rule; while another child of his, Viye, went to found the kingdom of Viye.[2] When Feti died he left his place to his son Ndumba-Visoso with his wife Katia. Ndumba-Visoso underwent circumcision, since when all Ngalangi kings have submitted to the rite. They founded first one village and then another, and they were hunters, shooting roan antelopes and elephants, for at that time there were many animals in the land. At the instigation of Ngalangi, the younger brother of Ndumba-Visoso, they attacked and drove out the 'va Ngangela', who then occupied what is now the *ombala* (capital or king's residence) of Ngalangi. Taking it for their own, they brought their loads of food: beans, emmer wheat, kaffir-corn, mandioc, and maize;[3] and where they rested their loads the load sticks took root and became the sycamore figs which to this day encircle the capital village. After that the wives of Feti departed: Tembo married in Humbi (or according to another account, in Cilengi or Kalukembe); Coya in Ndulu; and Cīvi in Ngalangi.[4] There follows an account of an attack on the village by the 'va Ngangela' while the men were away in another country. With only the women at home Katia saved the day with a powerful

[1] The name Feti, it is said, comes from the word *fetika* (the verb *oku fetika*, to begin); while Coya is traced to *oya* (the verb *oku oya*, to finish). Thus it is said, *Feti wa fetika, Coya woyapo* (Feti began, Coya finished).

[2] This tradition connecting Ngalangi, Viye, and Ngola (Ndongo) is interesting and perhaps contains elements of truth, whether from tribal recollections or other sources, but it cannot be reconciled with the strictly historical facts since the kingdom of Ngola (Ndongo) was founded before 1550, and when Paulo Diaz de Novaes first came in 1560 he found that Ngola-Mbandi had inherited the kingdom from his father Ngola-Njinga the previous year. The country then came to be called A-Ngola. (See summary in the Introduction to Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*.) As I have shown, Viye was founded about two hundred years later.

[3] The order is that of the Ngalangi narrator and is probably a recognition of the more recent importation of the last two named. On another occasion he said that his grandmother had told him that in the olden days when people always carried some seed about in pouches on their persons for fear of sudden raids, maize was not known and emmer wheat was the staple food.

[4] This further attempt to establish connexion with neighbouring tribes is significant. The Humbi and the Cilengi belong to the 'Bangala' group of people, while the Kalukembe are Ovimbundu, but seemingly more nearly related to these 'Bangala' than are the other Ovimbundu.

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173 167 charm which caused the bullets of the enemy to fall to the ground immediately upon leaving the muzzles of their muskets, so that they did no harm, whereupon the women went out and beheaded the enemy with their hoes.[1] When Katia died her husband sent to his brother Ngola to have a figure of her made. Soon after Ndumba-Visoso died and left his place to his sons, first Mulunda and then Kambuenge.

I have given this Ngalangi tradition at length because of its inherent interest and because of the attempts which it makes to show a relationship between the peoples.

The tradition of Wambu is that the first king, Wambu-Kalunga, came from the north from Sela, which is just to the north-west of Bailundu. He came with his cross-cousins Cihamba, Katutu, and Sunguandumbo.[2] The Nganda[3] were then living in Wambu. Wambu-Kalunga was a great warrior and raider. He had a special penchant for human flesh and would catch and eat the children left in the village when their parents went to their fields. He would also dig up and eat recently buried corpses. The elders were greatly disturbed over this custom and sought to kill King Wambu-Kalunga. They managed to get a live man into a rock tomb who speared Wambu-Kalunga when he came at night to get the supposed corpse. His capital was at the rocks of Nganda-la-Kawe (near the present town and railway station at Caála), and to this day his tomb is shown.

Ciyaka tradition names as the founder of its royal family, Cihamba, son or cousin of Wambu-Kalunga. Cihamba was a great hunter and brought back so much game that Wambu-Kalunga gave him one of his concubines and permission to seek a kingdom for himself. His younger brother Katutu accompanied him and each built his village in the mountainous country of Ciyaka, where at that time the Ndombe[4] people were living with their chief Siku. Katutu's village was raided by a party from Wambu. Cihamba

[1] The appearance of fire-arms so early in the tradition is interesting, but not surprising, as we shall see when we examine historical accounts.

[2] Another account makes Cihamba and Katutu sons of Wambu-Kalunga, while Sunguandumbo (or Songombanda) is their cross-cousin (*epalume*).

[3] The Nganda belong to the 'Bangala' group and now live just west of the Umbundu country.

[4] The Ndombe are also one of the 'Bangala' people. They are now confined to the Benguela coast-lands, where some of them were already living when the Portuguese first came about 1580. (See *Benguella e seu sertão*, p. 18 f.; *Andrew Battell*, pp. 16 ff.)

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167 173 came with his five famous hunting dogs and with their aid caught up with the raiders and finished them off. After the battle he collected five baskets of heads and set off for Wambu to present them and find out whether Wambu-Kalunga had sent the raiders. When the bereaved relatives recognized the heads, Wambu-Kalunga had to admit having sent the raid.[1] He also admitted the uncanny ability of Cihamba, to whom he now gave a new name, saying, 'Henceforth, you are Cilũlũ (Ghost), because your anger is altogether too great.' He also gave him the royal insignia[2] for which he should build a spirit-hut (*etambo*) and sent him away to rule, saying, 'From now on you are the war-leader of Wambu.'

Then Cilũlũ and Katutu returned to Ciyaka and to their hunting. One day when Cilũlũ returned from a hunt (on which he had gone without his dogs), only four dogs came out to meet him: Ndumbu was missing. When he found that his own sons had eaten the favourite dog which had hunted and fought for him, his sorrow and anger knew no bounds: his heart was black. Straightway he sent for his brother Katutu and insisted that he take the royal insignia and rule in his stead. 'I, Cilũlũ,' he said, 'am Cihamba; from to-day I shall beget no more sons to be kings; to-day I have cursed them and none of them shall rule any more.[3] To-day, oh Katutu, build the spirit-hut, the kitchen, and the chief's hut.'[4]

Later Katutu built the *ombala* of Kawa,[5] and Cihamba came to live with him. One day the queen was gathering firewood on a mountain and found a much better mountain-top site, then

[1] Wambu-Kalunga's alleged reason for having sent the raid was that Cihamba had impregnated the concubine given to him, whereas the intention was that relations should have been those of the *trial marriage in which* partners occupy the same bed but explicitly avoid conception.

[2] i.e. the small mat, the double-headed ceremonial axe, the bell, and the chalk (to mark the face in ceremony and ritual).

[3] One reason for this particular phase of the tradition was perhaps to explain why the king's brother often inherits rather than a son. There is an Elende tradition designed to explain why the royal succession is in the paternal line rather than in the maternal, as is the case with inheritance among commoners, and also with the royal families of the related people to the south.

[4] *Etambo, ociwo, eyemba*, the three royal buildings. A commoner may have a spirit-hut (*etambo*), he may have a kitchen (*ociwo*) for each of his wives, but a house of his own he may not have, only a house for each wife.

[5] This appears in the old Portuguese records as *Quiaca a velha* (see Report of Governor of Benguela for 1799 in *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 154).

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occupied by Siku of the Ndombe people, which site Katutu soon appropriated. This is the present site[1] of the Ciyaka capital.

While reworking some of the material in this paper I had the good fortune to receive help from a member of the royal family of Ciyaka[2] who has more precise data on the succession of that kingdom than I had supposed it possible now to obtain. He not only completed and corrected my list of the kings of Ciyaka, but he also supplied the actual dates for all of them since 1842.[3] Their number would seem to impute to the Ciyaka kingdom a longer history than I have been able to verify for any of the other Umbundu kingdoms, but the absence of historical data from European sources makes confirmation impossible. It would seem, however, that the beginning of the Ciyaka dynasty must date from not later than the first half of the seventeenth century.

Some of the other Umbundu-speaking groups are of considerable importance and interest, but unfortunately there is neither time nor space to give to their origins attention equal to that given to those treated above. The Sambu kingdom has long specialized in the training of medical practitioners and witch-doctors. The tradition is that it was founded by a woman who seems to have come either from Bailundu or from the stock whence came the Bailundu royal family at an even earlier date. From the family of Wambu-Kalunga, in addition to Ciyaka, came those who set up the kingdoms of Elende, which had a woman ruler early in its history; of Cingolo; of Ekekete; and of Cikuma (also called Citata), in whose lands the fort of Caconda a Nova was built in 1769. It was probably after this that the capital of Citata moved across the Katumbela (*Catombela*) River to its present site. Kakonda, the founder of the kingdom generally known by that name, was of Luanda stock but born in Ngalangi,[4] whence he was sold as a slave to Benguela. He ran away with his wife Cilombo[5] and settled in the region near the (present) site of Caconda (a Nova). Kakonda and Cilombo probably settled there only a very short time before the building of the fort, for most of Kakonda's fifteen successors

[1] Called *Quiaca a nova* in the old Portuguese records (see loc. cit.).

[2] Lauriano M. Bahu Ciyaka, a graduate of Currie Institute, teacher of the village of Canja.

[3] *Vide* chronological chart, p. 224 f. *infra*.

[4] It is likely that his ascendants were *pombeiros* (traders) from Luanda and had settled in Ngalangi.

[5] After her, the kingdom was called Cilombo-coñoma (Camp of the Drum).

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had Portuguese names, and tradition speaks of a great accession of mulatto stock, which also is confirmed by observation.

The Umbundu-speaking border groups are interesting. Ngamba was formerly occupied by the Songo and has been peopled by Ovimbundu coming from near the capital of Viye only within the past forty years. Cengi, Sanga, Namba, and Kasongi on the northern flank of Bailundu have probably all only recently become Umbundu-speaking groups. Kasongi is one of the largest groups which paid tribute to Bailundu, and has had a line of Umbundu-speaking kings for more than a hundred years; but judging from genealogical evidence the bulk of the people have not been Ovimbundu that long. Civula is another large group and its uncertain feudal status has been noted. Perhaps the most interesting of the border groups, at least from a linguistic standpoint, is Kalukembe. The royal house seems to have come from Ciyaka and it has been claimed that in Kalukembe the kingship is inherited by the mother's brother's son. This is not supported by the only local traditional history which I have been able to secure and requires further investigation. At any rate it is through the maternal line that the commoners of all the Umbundu-speaking groups inherit, and it is noteworthy that this is also true of the kingship among the 'Bangala' and the Ambo tribes.[1] The 'Bangala' people have clan organizations and are exogamous, so that they may marry in any of the related 'Bangala' groups, and for this purpose they include the Kalukembe but not others of the Ovimbundu.[2] Finally, the variations with which Umbundu is spoken in Kalukembe[3] point to closer connexions with the language-group of the 'Bangala'. There are certain areas which at the present day seem to be undergoing a linguistic 'Umbundu-ization'. This is most evident in the coast towns such as Novo Redondo, Lobito, Catumbela, Benguela,

[1] See Estermann, 'Notas Etnográficas sôbre os povos do Distrito da Huila' in *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, fev. 1935, p. 63; Hahn, *et al.*, *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*, p. 8.

[2] This last item was learned from Mulondo people. The above-cited article deals only with the people of the District of Huila, while 'Bangala' people live also in other adjoining districts.

[3] Compare Umbundu language work of H. Chatelain and others of the 'Mission Philafricaine' in Kalukembe, as versus illustrations of Umbundu used by Johnston, Meinhof, *et al.* Evidently the native 'Mohongo' taken to Paris by Homburger of the Mission Rohan-Chabot, was a native of Kalukembe, for the 'Bailoundou' vocabulary taken from him is of the Kalukembe variation. (See *Mission Rohan-Chabot*, t. III, f. 1.)

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and Mossamedes. The region of Catumbela, and perhaps of Benguela, seems to have been subjected to migrations of Ovimbundu, or of proto-Ovimbundu, between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and it is probable that some of these groups early established themselves there permanently.[1] At the present time peoples of many tribes make up the population of these towns and of the surrounding regions, but Umbundu is already the dominant speech, and in Lobito and Catumbela almost no other Bantu language is heard. Certain other areas on the fringe of the Umbundu lands now seem to be in process of 'Umbunduization', at least as regards language. This does not seem to have taken place in Musende, in Cipala (Quibala), or in Sela, in spite of the long time during which they owned the king of Bailundu as their overlord. Just now, however, such a process seems to be taking place in Mbuiva (Amboiva), in Cisanji (area of Bocoio), in Nganda, and in Cikomba (Chicomba, south of Caconda).

Some of the neighbouring peoples have traditions of migrations which corroborate the traditions of the Ovimbundu. The Nganda say that they formerly lived in the region of Wambu, around the rocks of Nganda-la-Kawe, and that they moved down-country for two reasons: (1) to escape Wambu-Kalunga and his penchant for eating their children; (2) to be by themselves to practise the rite of circumcision. When they migrated to their present home, the kingdom of Ciyaka, they say, was not yet established.

Traditions of the Herero and Ambo peoples may have bearing on the problem of the migrations of the Ovimbundu. Dr. Vedder concludes from tradition and genealogical evidence that the Herero must have crossed the Kunene 'about the year 1700'.[2] Some of the tribes of Angola with which the Njimba-Herero claim relationship[3] may easily be identified as belonging to the 'Bangala' group, as, for example, the Ovangambue, the Ovangumbi, and the Ovatjerenge, which are plainly the va Ngambue, the va Khumbi (or Nkhumbi), and the va Cilengi, respectively. Other names in the list are very much like some place-names in the Umbundu country.

Traditions of the Songo and Lunda people have already been

[1] According to a Ciyaka tradition. Also see A. Bastos, *Monographia de Catumbella*, pp. 6, 7; L. Cordeiro (ed.), *Benguella e seu sertão*, 1617–22; Ravenstein (ed.), op. cit., p. 19 f.

[2] Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., p. 157.

[3] Loc. cit.

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mentioned. H. A. Dias de Carvalho collected the traditional history of the people of Lunda, which attempted to show that the Imbangala, the Songo, and the Cokue, or rather their reigning families, were descended from the royal house of the Bongo people of Lunda.[1] Through Ilunga, father of the first Muata Yanvo, this author connects these people, or at least all of them except the Imbangala, with the Luba.[2] Torday offers the hypothesis that Ilunga (or Ihunga) may have been a Bushongo prince.[3] I have heard the hypothesis offered that the Songo were in effect an offshoot of the Bushongo people, but it seems that such knowledge as we have of the Songo cannot be said to substantiate this theory. Should these theories prove to accord with the facts, we could claim a long traditional descent for the people of our study in consideration of the careful work done by Torday in tracing the genesis of the Bushongo.[4]

Historical Evidence. Turning from tribal traditions to the solid ground of historical evidence, regarding the migrations in question, it is immediately evident that there is no lack of witnesses. The regions with which we are dealing have been known to Europe since 1482, when the expedition under Diogo Cão first sailed up the Congo River and sent ambassadors representing King John II of Portugal to the king of Kongo. Diogo Cão returned in 1485–6, and then in 1491 there came a great expedition with a specially appointed embassy and a mission of ten Franciscan friars.[5] From this time on the Kongo was not without European observers. The earliest record which we have of native migrations in what is now Angola was the invasion of the kingdom of Kongo in 1568,[6] when it was overrun by hordes of terrible 'Jagas',[7] from the east. The reigning king, Dom Alvaro I (Nenemi-a-lukeni-luambemba), and his forces were so utterly routed that his only resource was to

[1] Dias de Carvalho, op. cit., p. 76 f.

[2] Op. cit., p. 65.

[3] E. Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo*, pp. 170, 281.

[4] Ibid., chap. xiii.

[5] See João de Barros, *Decadas* I, liv. 3; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica*, p. 174 f.; Garcia de Resende, *Chronica*, pp. 155 ff.; Fr. Luiz de Sousa, *Histôria de S. Domingos*, pt. ii, liv. vi, c. 8.

[6] There has been considerable disagreement over this date, which has been variously reported as 1558, 1568, and 1570; 1568 seems the most likely date, see Ravenstein (ed.), *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, p. 119 f.

[7] There are many spellings of this name, according to the language, or even the caprice, of the observer. The commoner forms are: Jagas, Jakas, Iagges, Giaghi, Giaki, and Ayaka. This last is probably the more nearly correct.

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the origin of this tribal name. It is no less reasonable to suppose that the name has also been preserved in the name of a section of the Ovimbundu—the va Ciyaka,[1] which is an augmentative noun from the same verbal stem.

'He saith they are called . . . by themselves Imbangolas.' This statement has given rise to a great deal of speculation from the time of Purchas to our own. The *Imbangala*, better known as 'the people of Jaga Cassange' or Bangalas, are generally recognized to have been one of the marauding hordes which troubled Angola in the seventeenth century, and it has already been noted that their own traditional history, as given by Dias de Carvalho and by Ferreira Diniz, fits in with this theory. It seems reasonable, therefore, to make this further identification of the 'Jagas' of Battell with the Imbangala of Cassange. There is one more traditional link to add, and that is that the Ovimbundu of Ciyaka recognize the region of Cassange as the location of the oldest ancestral tombs of which they have any tradition. Once when there was a particularly severe drought, tribal elders were sent from Ciyaka to Cassange to worship at these ancient tombs, to anoint the skulls, and to plead for rain.

When Purchas noted in 1613 that 'Elembe settled himself in Benguele', he meant the hinterland of Benguela Velha,[2] i.e. in the regions of Mbũi (*Amboim*), Cipala (*Quibala*), or Sela (*Cela*). As I have shown, tradition connects the kingdom of Wambu with Sela, and the kingdom of Bailundu with Cipala. Although 'Kelandula, sometime his page, proceeds in that beastly life before mentioned', we may be reasonably sure that eventually he also, or his followers, settled in the same general region. Both Elembe and Kalandula are common Umbundu names and the latter is found twice among the kings of Bailundu.

There is further evidence in the similarity of customs as between the 'Jagas' and the royal families of the Ovimbundu, for both Battell and Cavazzi have given fairly full accounts. To show these similarities fully it would be necessary to re-edit Battell, and therefore I shall speak of only a few outstanding points. The cannibalism of the 'Jagas' was perhaps their most striking custom.

[1] The Portuguese transcription of this form would be 'Giaca', but this has become changed to 'Quiaca', as also with many similar names.

[2] See p. 122, n. 4 *supra*. It was only in 1617 that the settlement on the *Baia das Vaccas* was made, and (wrongly) given the name of Benguela.

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which the 'Jagas' had, although they soon adopted the language of the people whom they conquered. As recently as fifty years ago the mother of the king of Bailundu spoke Umbundu brokenly, since she came from Cipala, and her sons were sent to complete their education with her people where later they were often called to rule.[1]

Recognition by the Ciyaka people that their forefathers came from the region where the Imbangala now live has been noted. It may have been a similar tradition heard in Viye which started Magyar to find out the tradition of 'Kinguri'. Such a tradition was mentioned in Viye as late as 1808.[2] This relation between the Umbundu ruling families and either the 'Jagas' or the Imbangala has been noted by several of the Portuguese writers. Lopes de Lima, in his History of the Discovery of the Congo, adds a footnote on the 'Jagas' as follows: 'The Jagas are almost nomadic peoples . . . coming from the interior of Africa, . . . there are some on the frontiers of the Congo, Angola, and Benguella, where some have fixed their habitations (as those of Cassange, and Bailundo).'[3] Writing in 1797 a certain Col. Pinheiro de Lacerda said of the inhabitants of Ngalangi, Kakonda, Wambu, Bailundu, &c.: 'These are they of the uplands, who are divided into two groups, those of one are called "Quinbundos",[4] (these do not eat human flesh); the others are called "Quimbingalas", who eat it, and when they make their sacrifice, which all attend, all eat the "Macongo".'[5] At that period the diversity of these two component parts of the Ovimbundu people was so apparent that they were even spoken of as separate and distinct peoples.

Place-names. Before leaving the subject of migratory movements a word should be said on the evidence of place-names. There is nothing to prove, except in a few instances where traditions have been collected, that the recurrence of identical or similar names at different places indicates the actual lines of migration followed by the several tribal groups represented. It may be said, however, that this line of evidence, taken together

[1] See *Missionary Herald*, 1888, p. 70.
[2] *Missionary Herald*, 1898, p. 108.
[3] *Annaes Mar. Col.*, 1845, p. 93.
[4] Taken from the singular form *ocimbundu*. As already explained, the change of *chi* to *qui* is a commonly met mutilation of the Bantu forms.
[5] *Annaes Mar. Col.*, 1845, p. 488. There follows a circumstantial account of the ceremony of *Oku lia Ehongo*, to which reference has already been made.

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dropped off; of ivory there was no more. From 1893 on, says Bastos, rubber was practically the sole export of the District of Benguela and of its hinterland.[1] In 1891 more than one million milreis' worth of rubber was exported from Benguela, sixteen times as much as was exported only five years before, and three and one-half times the value of the *three* leading exports in 1886. Until 1891 this increase was not at the expense of other exports, but rather in addition to them.

All of this rubber, and the other exports as well, came to the coast in caravans of the Ovimbundu or their neighbours. In its inception and its great development it was an enterprise of the Ovimbundu. Everyone who was able to carry a load joined a caravan. It had always been the custom to take boys on trading expeditions, as young as they could go—say, from their tenth year—as a part of their education. Now girls were also taken and hardly any but the women stayed at home to raise the crops and provide rations for the caravans. European residents experienced great difficulty in securing necessary porters,[2] and this was one reason for finally putting through the wagon-road from Benguela to Caconda.[3] It was extended to Viye during the military campaign of 1890. The fever of the rubber trade reached into all the villages of the land and took in everyone able to travel. Mission schools had been established since 1881, but they had but few pupils until 1900. There were also other reasons for this, but a principal one was the attractiveness of the rubber trade.[4] Even the kings found it more difficult to gather armies for their wars: trade had become more attractive than the possibility of plunder.

Of all the kings who ruled the various Umbundu kingdoms during this time, the one who is best remembered is Ekuikui (II) of Bailundu (1876–93). Tradition has begun to ascribe to him and to his reign some things which properly belong to earlier

[1] Bastos, op. cit., p. 34. He does not include *serviçaes* in the exports, since they all went to the mainland or island plantations, but he remarks that at this time the price rose to even 90$000 (p. 33). The rise in price was perhaps due to the smaller supply owing to the preoccupation of the Ovimbundu with the rubber trade.

[2] See *Missionary Herald*, 1889, p. 350.

[3] *Benguella*, 1891, op. cit., p. 10.

[4] The reports of the governor of Benguela, to which reference has been made, also mentioned this fact, saying that although the American missions were intelligently directed, their results were small, since parents would not send their children to learn while they could pick up loads of rubber (1887, p. 19; 1891, p. 20).

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times, which is a sure sign of his greatness in Umbundu estimation. Ekuikui's reign marked the end of an era and the beginning of another, not only for the people of Bailundu, but for all the Ovimbundu. The rubber trade had begun just before he came to the stool and his reign saw its intensive development. Tradition is probably right in placing the beginning of intensive agricultural pursuits during Ekuikui's time, for the great development of trade, need for rations for the long journeys, and a market for foodstuffs at the coast provided the necessary stimulus to cultivate beyond immediate seasonal need. Ekuikui carried on the tradition of warfare[1] which was so large a part of his ancestral heritage, but he had the good sense to attempt no large-scale operations either against his relatively powerful Ovimbundu confrères, or against European establishments. There was plenty of provocation[2] and no lack of warlike counsel, but he probably realized that the tenor of the times was against such operations. Had his contemporaries of Viye and his own successors been possessed of equal good sense, the Ovimbundu might have been saved some very difficult times and not a little bloodshed. The military occupation of Viye came about in 1890, after a disastrous war brought on by foolishly high-handed treatment on the part of King Ndunduma[3] and his counsellors of a little expedition bound for the interior under Captain Paiva Couceiro, and of Silva Porto,[4] resulting in the suicide of the latter. The ruler and people of Viye relied on a largely magical defence against Boer sharpshooters and Portuguese field artillery with Krupp guns. When finally Ndunduma came in and gave himself up[5] he was exiled to São Tiago in the Cape Verde Islands,

[1] For King Ekuikui's wars see *Missionary Herald*, 1882, p. 225; 1883, p. 339; 1884, pp. 145 f., 504; 1885, pp. 279, 355, 375; 1889, p. 67; 1890, p. 292.

[2] See op. cit., 1886, pp. 228 f., 452, 508.

[3] *Ndunduma* (Thunderer) was the name assumed by Cikunyu when he took office after a *coup d'état* in 1888 (see *Missionary Herald*, 1889, p. 242 f.).

[4] Antonio Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto, appointed 'Captain-major and exterior judge' of Bihe in 1885. He had authority only over the European residents, but he knew the country and people well and had tried to bring about a peaceful occupation of the country; neither the Government in Benguela nor the native authorities, however, would take his advice. His suicide brought the importance of the Umbundu country to the fore, and he became a Portuguese national hero.

[5] It was the Rev. W. H. Sanders, in charge of Kamundongo Mission Station, who sought Ndunduma and got him to surrender in order to avoid further slaughter. For a report of this 'war' see *Relatorio do Districto de Benguella*, 1891, pp. 12–14; also *Missionary Herald*, 1891, pp. 47, 63 f., 88, 108 f.; Dr. J. Johnston, *Romance versus Reality in South Central Africa*, pp. 59–63. F. S. Arnot (*Bihe*

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the occupations of warfare and of trade to the more settled agricultural life. And it is the possession and cultivation of land which provides a minimum basis for those who are also able to engage in any sort of trade, either commercial or one of the handicrafts.

Health.- A sanitary history, or the course of health among the Ovimbundu throughout their national existence, would be of interest if it could be made known. Legend tells of a time in the distant past when sickness was rare and death came hardly ever, if at all. It is said that hasty burials were not permitted because there had been cases of the supposed corpse returning to life. Some have taken this to mean that the tribe came from a more healthful region than the one which it now occupies, but it seems rather to be a traditional recognition of the fact that many of the diseases and bodily ills which at present afflict the Ovimbundu are of comparatively recent date. The time of arrival of some of these unwelcome guests can be estimated. Some are the subject of traditional tales as, for example, the jigger[1] (*pulex penetrans*), which a Ngalangi tradition says came to them from Bailundu, and Bailundu tradition says was first recognized in the time of Ekongo-liohombo (*c.* 1875) or Ekuikui II (*c.* 1876–93). Now the jigger is well known in Africa as an importation from South America, and the time of its first appearance could probably be determined. This parasite is widely present in tropical Africa, but there are some regions which it has not (yet) reached.[2] Its coming to Angola is probably, therefore, of recent date. Silva Porto, writing in 1879, said, 'This evil is of recent date on the coast . . . (*pulex penetrans*).'[3] The first notice of this pest which reached the pages of the *Boletim Official* of Angola was in 1875. If this date really represents the time when the jigger first appeared in Angola, it seems strange that it should have been so late, in view of the slave-ships ferrying back and forth from Brazil for the previous three hundred years.

Small-pox[4] might also be thought of as a recent arrival for, according to a note in the *Boletim Official*, it first appeared in Novo Redondo in June 1864, having been brought from Luanda by ships' crews.[5] Its first appearance on the Plateau, however,

[1] *Ewundu* or *ocindiundiu* is the Umbundu name, from *oku wunda*, to hide (the hidden one).

[2] e.g. Amboland, according to Umbundu testimony.

[3] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., p. 10.

[4] *Ocingongo* is the Umbundu name.

[5] *Boletim Official da Provincia de Angola*, 1865, no. 5.

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SYNCHRONIZED CHART OF THE PORTUGUESE HISTORY OF

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
1482	Diogo Cão discovers the Congo.
1485–6	Diogo Cão's second voyage.
1490–1	Embassy to King of Kongo and Franciscan Mission.
1560	First expedition to Kingdom of Angola under Dias de Novaes.
1568	'Jagas' overrun Kingdom of Kongo.
1575	Luanda founded by Dias de Novaes and Jesuits.
1590	'Jagas' allied with Angola and Matamba defeat Portuguese.
From 1600	Some 'Jagas' allies of Portuguese, others met south of Kuanza and on Benguela Coast.
1617	Benguela founded.
1620	Hinterland forbidden to traders save *pombeiros descalços*.
1640–8	Dutch hold Luanda, Benguela, &c.; Portuguese hold Massangano.
From 1645	Raids from Massangano across Libolo to and across Keve River and to Bailundu.
From 1660	Raids inland from Benguela find some natives using fire-arms.
1671	End of Kingdom of Angola; presídio at Pungu-a-Ndongo.
1680	One million slaves exported since 1576 (Cadornega). First Caconda Fort founded in Hanha.
1685	Second Caconda Fort rebuilt nearby; many attacks on this fort and on nearby natives by native kings from interior.
1718	Further attacks on Caconda and its neighbours; king of 'Gallangue' captured and exiled; his successor said to have become vassal of Portugal. (Delgado.)
1760	Expulsion of Jesuits.
1769	Third Caconda fort built, on present site; presídio of Novo Redondo founded; various 'towns' ordered established in Benguela hinterland and Captains-major named. Formal prohibition of hinterland to traders removed.
1770–1	J. J. Rodrigues (first) Captain-major of Bihe.
1774	Great military campaign from Luanda and from Benguela against Bailundu, Cingolo, Ciyaka, &c.
1776	Return of military forces; king of Bailundu and two nephews captured.
1778	Kangombe baptised as 'Antonio de Vasconcellos' in Luanda and restored to stool of Viye with Governor's help.
1782	J. Gregorio de Freitas, Captain-major of Bihe.

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THE OVIMBUNDU

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NATIVE TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND THE UMBUNDU ROYAL SUCCESSIONS

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'Kinguri' leaves Lunda to seek new home; his subsequent wanderings (Magyar).

Traditional origins of the Imbangala, of the Songo; in 'Libolo', in 'Quibala', &c. (Dias de Carvalho; Ferreira Diniz, &c.).

Ngalangi tradition of Feti the First, who found his wives in the reeds, and how they became the mothers of many peoples.

Wambu-Kalunga, the cannibal chief, founder of Wambu, progenitor of Ciyaka, Cingolo, Citata, Kalukembe, &c.

Ndulu tradition of Katekula-Mengo, elephant-hunter, who left imprints in the rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo.

Katiavala from the north, comes to Bailundu.

Viye and Kahanda.

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	Ciyaka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1650	Cilolo I (*Cihumbu*)[2]				
	Kapango	Cikolongonjo			
	Atende I				
	Ukolongonjo I	Kavelavela	Mbulu (*Cilica*)[2]		
1700	Ndumbu I (*Konyo-ya-Cipemba*)[2]	Etande	Katiavala I		
			Njahulu		
	Luanjangombe I	Cibunya	Somandalu	(Kasenje)[2]	Viye
	Mukuku	Cingi		(Cihongo)[2]	(Civava)[2]
1750	Cilolo II				(Ndalu)[2]
	Handa I	(Ndulu)[?]	Cingi I[1] c. 1760–76	Ndumba Viseo	Ulundu
	Ngalangi				
	Katutu I	Kakulukusu[1]			
					Eyambi Njilahulu
1775	Ndumbu II				
			(*Cilima*)[2]		
	Kanutamuka				Kangombe[1] 1778–c.1795
	Kamela			Mulunda	
	Ukolongonjo II	Lunanyula			

For notes see page 231.

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
1795	Mello and Teixeira, third journey to 'Loval' via Bailundu and Viye.
1808–15	First recorded crossing of Africa (via Lunda, not Viye) by two *pombeiros*.
1817	Native wars in Benguela hinterland.
1819	João Nepomuceno Correia, Captain-major of Bihe.
1823–5	'Golden Age of Slave Trade'—average annual export 11,457 (Lopes de Lima).
1832–8	First export of new products: gum copal and orchilla.
1834	Abolition of royal monopoly in ivory.
1836	Formal abolition of slave trade, but enforcement held up for many years, owing to feeling in the colony.
1837	Lt. Sandoval in Bailundu, whence he describes native life.
1838	F. J. Coimbra, Captain-major of Bihe.
1840	Silva Porto reaches Bihe, coming from Luanda.
1844	Ports of Luanda and Benguela opened to foreign shipping; Prize Court in Luanda to implement suppression of slave trade.
1845	Presídio of Huila founded.
1846	Expedition of J. R. Graça to Lunda, passes through Viye.
1849–57	Ladislau Magyar in Viye.
1852	Silva Porto opens 'new road' from Viye to coast via Bailundu and Balombu (Civula).
1853	'Arabs' in Benguela, coming overland from Zanzibar. Livingstone meets Silva Porto and parties of 'Mambari' (Ovimbundu) at Naliele on the Zambezi.
1854	Livingstone meets 'Mambari' near Golungo Alto, visits Luanda, and returns to Zambezi valley and east coast.
1856–7	Attacks on southern presídios. Great attack on Huila by Ciyaka, Cingolo, Kalukembe, &c.
1865	Slaves now called freedmen (*libertos*) and apprenticed to their masters.
1869	First (experimental) export of rubber.
1870	Silva Porto leaves Viye for Benguela because of exactions of King Cilemo. Export of slaves to Americas now stopped; many sent to local plantations (Bastos).
1875	Lt. Cameron passes through Viye, Bailundu, &c., and reaches coast.
1878	Serpa Pinto, Capello, and Ivens in Caconda and in Viye. Great trading activity in Bailundu and in Viye.
1879–81	Trek Boers who left Transvaal in 1876 settle at Humpata.
1879	Silva Porto returns to Viye and goes on to 'Moyo'.
1880	Bagster, Sanders, and Miller land at Benguela (November), reach Bailundu following March to open W.C.A. Mission of A.B.C.F.M.
1882	Rubber takes second place in exports (after wax).

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[1]UMBUNDU ROYAL SUCCESSIONS

	Ciyuka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1795	Atende II				Kawewe
	Cikoko I	Cindele	Ekuikui I Numa I Hundungulu	Kambuenge	Moma (*Vasocavo*)[2]
	Kuvombo-inene				
	Ndumbu III	Mbundi	Cisende I Njunjulu	Ndumba II (*Cihongo*)[2]	
			Ngungi		
1835	Handa II (*Kaciyombo*)[2]		Civukuvuku[2]		Mbandus[2] 1833–9
			Utondosi		Kakembembe[2] (*Hundungulu*)[2] 1839–42
1842	Njimbi[4] 1842–50	Siakalembe	Mbonge[2] 1842–61	Ndumba III[2] (*Epopo Kateyavi-lombo*) *c.* 1844–*c.* 1860	Liambula[2] 1842–7
					Kayangula[2] 1847–50
1850	Canja I[4] (*Luanjangombe III*)[2] 1850–70				(Mukinda[2]) 1850–7[2]
1857		Lusase		Etumbu Lutate	Nguvenge[2] 1857–9
1861			Cisende II[2] 1861–9		Konya Cilemo[2] 1860–83
			Vasovavu[2] 1869–72		
1870	Njundo[4] 1870–98	Ekundu Civavu[4] *c.* 1870–*c.* 1890			
			Ekonge-liohombo[2] 1872–6		
1875			Ekuikui II[2] 1876–93	Ndumbu[2]	
1880					Ciponge[2] (*Njombeyemina*)[2] 1883–6

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
175 173 1884	Sanders opens Kamundongo station in Viye; Mission expelled from Bailundu by King Ekuikui upon a trader's misrepresentation; Mission appeals to Gov.-Gen. at Luanda; Arnot's arrival at Bailundu influences Ekuikui; Mission invited to return.
1885	Silva Porto, Captain-major of Bihe.
1886	Ovimbundu traders discover new source of rubber—more easily available and more abundant: great boom begins.
1887	Rubber takes first place in exports.
1888	Occupation of Congo by 'Free State' stops ivory trade. Currie opens Canadian Congregational station at Chissamba.
1890	King Ndunduma orders Paiva Couceiro's expedition out of Viye; suicide of Silva Porto. Punitive expedition under Artur de Paiva occupies Viye and receives surrender of king. Roman Catholic mission opened at Caconda. Plymouth Brethren begin work at Kuanjulula (Viye).
1891	Teixeira da Silva begins military occupation of Bailundu. Many traders arrive for settlement in Bailundu and in Viye.
1892	R.C. 'Mission of Bihe' opened at Kacingi (outside Umbundu area).
1895	R.C. Mission station of Bailundu opened.
1896	King Numa attacks Bailundu Fort.
1897	Mission Philafricaine (Swiss) opens station in Kalukembe.
1899	Peak of rubber trade.
1900	Slump in rubber trade; no more ivory (A. Bastos).
1902–3	Revolt in Bailundu put down and remaining Umbundu regions soon occupied.
1904	Benguela Railway begins construction at Lobito. Rubber slump aggravated by debasing product. W.C.A. Mission opens Cileso (Ndulu) Station.
1906	W.C.A. Mission opens Elende (Ciyaka) Station.
1908	R.C. Mission station of Huambo (Wambu) opened.
1910	The Republic proclaimed in Portugal; worst abuses of contract labour abolished; civil administration begins to replace military in interior. Benguela Ry. reaches Cuma; porterage to coast gradually ends.
1912	Gen. Norton de Matos, Governor-General.
1914	W.C.A. Mission opens Currie Institute, normal and training school for young men.
1915	German forces take Portuguese forts on southern border; Portugal enters war against Germany. Benguela Ry. reaches Chinguar (edge of Viye) and suspends construction.
1916	W.C.A. Mission opens Means School for training of young women.
1917	Bailundu troops used to quell Sele revolt.
1919	Gen. Norton de Matos, High Commissioner; period of many public works and of much road-building activity (until about 1930).
1921	Decree 77 severely limits teaching and use of vernaculars. Beginning of currency devaluation with great fluctuations.
1922	Benguela Ry. resumes construction. Galangue (Ngalangi) mission station opened by representatives of coloured Congregational churches of the U.S.
1924	Seventh Day Adventists open work in Mbongo.

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UMBUNDU ROYAL SUCCESSIONS

	Ciyaka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1885					Ciyoka[1] 1886–8 Cikunyu[1] (*Ndundumu*)[2] 1888–90
1890		Civange		Ekumbi	Kalufele
			Katiavala II[3] 1893–5		
1895			Numa II[3] 1895–6	Cihonga II	Kaninguluka
		Cipati	Hundungulu Kalakata	Ciyo	
	Cilölö III[4] 1898–1904				
1900		Cisululu Kasuanje	Kalandula		
		Siakanjimba	(Mutu-ya Kevela) [3, 7] 1903		Ciyuka[4] 1901–3 Kavovu[4] 1903–15
1904	Handa III[4] 1904–11	Ndingilinya	Cisende III[3] 1904–11		
		Silinga Congolola		Cipala	
1910		[6]			
	Atende III[4] 1911–15		Njahülö[4] 1911–35		
1915	Cikoko[4] 1915–18				Ngungu[5] 1915–28
		Ciculukua		Kangombe	
1920	Cilölö IV[4] 1920–3			Ngangwa	
				Cuvika	

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DATES	EVENTS RECORDED
175 173 1926	'Corporative Régime' gains power in Portugal, May 28; Roman Catholics given large government subsidies and many advantages; they open many new mission stations from this time on.
1927	United Church of Canada takes over part of work of W.C.A.M. Umbundu Church of Christ organized to include work of three Protestant Missions.
1928	Currency conversion with 25 per cent. devaluation. Angola Boers return to Damaraland. Mission Philafricaine opens Evangs (Ganda) station.
1929	Completion of Benguela Ry. to frontier.
1929–30	First ordinations in Umbundu Church of Christ.
1930	W.C.A. Mission celebrates Jubilee with attendance of 12,000 Africans, many Europeans, and deputations from abroad.
1931	Completion of Katanga Ry., making connexion across Africa; opening of through traffic. Portuguese Baptists open small work at Nova Lisboa.
1935	Provincial Exposition at Nova Lisboa.
1938	H.E. President Carmona of Portugal visits Colony.
1939	World War II, Portugal neutral.
From 1941	Rapid rise of prices, rise in wages less marked.
1945–6	Visit of Minister of Colonies includes Protestant Missions.
1946	West Central Africa Regional Conference, Léopoldville, Congo Belge: African and European delegates from French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

UMBUNDU ROYAL SUCCESSIONS

	Ciyaka	*Ndulu*	*Bailundu*	*Ngalangi*	*Viye*
1925				Ciknetekole	
	Handa IV[4] (*Kalumbombo*)[8] 1926–8	Cihopio[4] d. 1935			
				Mbumba-Kambuakatepa	
					Ciyuka[4, 6] 1928–40
	Sakulanda[4] (*Luanjangombe IV*)[8] 1929–39				
1930					
				Cingelesi[4] 1931–3	
				Ndumbu II[4] 1933–5	
1935		(Sangombe Esita)[7] 1935–	Musita[4] 1935–8	Congolola[4] 1935–	
			Cinendele[4] 1938–		
	Cilulu V[4] 1939–40				
1940	Tomasi[4] 1940–				

NOTES

[1] Dates fixed by agreement of native tradition with historical reference.

[2] These names mentioned by European writers; native tradition with reference to them not known.

[3] Dates fixed from historical reference.

[4] Dates from native sources.

[5] Tradition mentions a solar eclipse during this reign, which would be 1886 or 1889.

[6] This is the same king as the one listed for 1901–3: he reigned twice.

[7] The names in parentheses are of men not of royal lines and not regularly enthroned, but usurpers, war leaders, or 'guarders of the stool'.

[8] The italicised names in parentheses after the names of certain kings are appelatives which they took on assuming office.

174 167 families, probably for the most part of Lunda origin, entered the Benguella Highlands during the seventeenth century and began to found their respective kingdoms. The tribes whom they encountered appear to have belonged to the cattle-keeping Ndombe-Nganda or to the Ngangela group.(1) Childs suggests that the upper strata of these local populations must have moved on southwards with their cattle to join related stocks in the border regions, while the masses stayed behind to form the nucleus of the Ovimbundu. The cultural influence of these early inhabitants on the Ovimbundu seems to have been slight, except in the south-west, particularly in Kalukembe, where a semblance of the cattle-culture complex remains, together with a recognition of kinship ties with southern neighbours (see below). The linguistic [197] influence of the Southern Bantu (Ndombe-Nganda) group in the south and west has however been considerable. It is noteworthy that over the whole Ovimbundu region a single language has developed with only small dialectal differences, and that although commercial contact has assisted this development, it has not been fostered by political union between the various segments of the Ovimbundu.

TRADITIONS

173 166 Each of the principal groups listed above (page 2) has separate legends of origin. Usually these traditions refer to the birthplace and adventures of the ancestors of the chiefly families, and only mention the indigenous inhabitants. Childs has made a careful and lucid summary of the traditions of the various groups;(2) these are therefore only very briefly outlined below.

Ndulu. There is evidence that Ndulu may be one of the oldest Ovimbundu kingdoms. The progenitor of the ruling dynasty is said to have come from the region near the confluence of the Kwanza and Luando rivers, and to have conquered and expelled the Luimbe, who live today to the east of Ndulu. This migration may have been a result of the prolonged wars between the Portuguese and the Kingdom of Angola,(3) which ended in 1671.

Bailundu. The Bailundu dynasty is said to have its origin in Cipala, a region which remained subject to Bailundu until the end of the nineteenth century, and from which, according to tradition, the king's principal wife comes. Childs estimates the date of the foundation of the dynasty at not earlier than about 1700. The Sambu ruling family is said to descend either from a woman of Bailundu stock or from common stock with the Bailundu.

Viye. Versions of the Viye legend are recorded by Tucker,(4) Serpa Pinto,(5) Silva Porto,(6) and Magyar,(7) and these do not all agree. According to the most widely-known version today, Viye, an elephant-hunter of the Humbi people, tracking game down the Kwanza valley, met and married a princess of the Songo people; their son, Ulundu, founded the Viye chiefdom. From documentary evidence Childs estimates that this must have been in about 1750. This version also suggests that the original inhabitants were of the Ngangela group of tribes.

(1) See above, p.3.
(2) Op.cit., pp.170-81.
(3) To the north of the present Ovimbundu country.
(4) 1927, pp.34f.
(5) 1881, vol.I, pp.156f.
(6) 1942, pp.165-71.
(7) 1859, pp.266f.

7

Magyar's account of the Viye legend is of interest since it suggests a direct link between the movements of the Ovimbundu ancestors and contemporary migrations of the Lunda in the Congo basin and western Angola.(1) Magyar relates that the forefathers of the Viye came from the land of the Moropu (or Lunda(2)) under the two chiefs Kinguri and Schakambindi, conquered the Songo, and settled on the Luanda river, engaging in agriculture between raids. The tribe subsequently sub-divided, one group going southwards to the Kukema river, where Ngangela were living, to found the chiefdom of Viye.

Ngalangi tradition is the only one which attempts a creation myth. Feti, the first chief of Ngalangi, is said to have "come down from above"; having no wives, he went to a lagoon of the Kunene river and caught them as they came out of the reeds. Sons of Feti drove out the Ngangela from what is now Ngalangi country, and founded their principal village.(3) Childs estimates that this must have taken place in about 1750. The village was later attacked unsuccessfully by Ngangela, and this is one of the very few traditions which mention resistance met by the invaders.

Wambu. The first chief, Wambu Kalunga, is said to have come from Sela country, north-west of Bailundu. The Nganda, who now live south-west of Umbundu country and are of Southern Bantu stock, were previously living in Wambu country. The founder of the *Ciyaka* royal family is said to have been a relative of Wambu Kalunga, and to have driven out the Ndombe (also of Southern Bantu stock) from Ciyaka country, probably during the first half of the seventeenth century. Wambu Kalunga is said to have been also the progenitor of the dynasties of *Cingolo, Citata* or *Cikuma, Kalukembe, Elende* and *Eketete.*(4)

Kakonda, the founder of the Kakonda kingdom, was of northern stock, but born in Ngalangi, whence he was sold as a slave to Benguella. He escaped with his wife, Cilombo, and set up the present kingdom in about 1[illegible]0.

Cengi, Songa, Namba and *Kasongi* on the northern flank of Bailundu have only recently become Umbundu-speaking. *Kasongi*, one of the largest Bailundu tributaries, has however had a line of Umbundu-speaking chiefs for more than 100 years. *Civula* was listed by Magyar as tributary to Ciyaka. *Kalukembe* is of interest in that it is more clearly linked than other sections of the Ovimbundu with the Nganda-Ambo group. Factors which point to this closer link include: the similarities in language between the two groups; the inheritance of the Kalukembe kingship in the maternal line, as among the Nganda-Ambo group, and not in the paternal line, as among other Ovimbundu;(5) and the fact that the Nganda-Ambo, who have an exogamous clan organisation, may marry in any of the related Nganda-Ambo groups, and for this purpose include Kalukembe but not other Ovimbundu.(6)

(1) McCulloch 1951, pp.9ff., 32ff., 57ff.
(2) Dias de Carvalho 1890, p.66.
(3) According to the same legend, where the Ngalangi rested their loads of food and household goods, sticks took root and became the sycamore figs which to this day encircle the capital village. This circle of trees is a characteristic of the older Ngangela villages.
(4) Childs op.cit., pp.178, 225.
(5) Although descent among Ovimbundu commoners is in the maternal line.
(6) Childs, op.cit., p.179.

3. Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

III. HISTORICAL SOURCES

The object of this chapter is the presentation of a summary of literature relating to Angola from A.D. 1500 down to the present day. In this literature there may be accounts of the movements of tribes which will throw some light on the origin of the Ovimbundu, and the date of their migration into the Benguela Highlands. Present-day tradition of the Ovimbundu is unanimous in declaring that the tribe came from the northeast of its present locality, but some historical justification of this belief is desirable. The word Ovimbundu ("people of the fog") may refer to the heavy morning mists of highland regions, and there is the possibility that the Ovimbundu adopted this name when they settled on the high plateau.

If there is historical evidence in favor of the traditional home of the Ovimbundu being the region of the north and northeast of Angola, what was the ethnological background of these areas at the time when the Ovimbundu became detached from a matrix of northern Angolan tribes? In other words, what cultural factors are the Ovimbundu likely to have brought with them into the Benguela Highlands? The ultimate origin of these factors is a point which has not been neglected (chapter XI, "Wider Culture Contacts"), but for the moment the primary concern is the historical background of the Ovimbundu, with special reference to tribal movements and cultural traits.

As part of this historical inquiry, contacts of the Portuguese and the Ovimbundu are of importance. When and where did the Portuguese come into contact with the Ovimbundu and with what results to the indigenous culture?

Chapters IV–IX deal exclusively with my field work among the Ovimbundu in 1929. Therefore it is pertinent to ask to what extent the ethnological observations of travelers and early explorers will corroborate the information recorded in my own notes. Will there be contradiction or confirmation of personal observations? Possibly the ethnological notes obtained from historical sources will serve, not merely to corroborate my field work, but actually to extend the area of occurrence of important cultural traits which I noted in 1929.

The literature describing Angolan history and customs is here presented in the form of a chronological bibliography, which is annotated so as to emphasize points bearing on the purpose of this historical analysis. That there should be a fragmentary presentation of data is an inevitable consequence of the nature of the literature

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

He draws the crescentic arrowhead (p. 123) still common among the Ovimbundu and Vachokue; the double iron gong (p. 122); and the musical bow, which he calls a viola (p. 121). 175 114 [534]

Sogaur states that iron-working had an advanced technique at Dindo, more than half a century ago. According to Sogaur, the blacksmith was using scrap iron from European sources (II, p. 14). 175 326

Perhaps the most valuable of Chatelain's books is "Fifty Folk Tales of Angola." The stories are accompanied by translations and ethnological notes, the most important of which are references to the carrying of a corpse on a pole; the building of a cairn of stones over the corpse of a hunter; matrilineal descent and the power of the maternal uncle over the persons of his nieces and nephews (sisters' children). My observations included some details respecting the pawning of a sister's children to redeem the debts of their mother's brother. Chatelain adds that sisters' children are successors to private property and chieftainship (pp. 8–10). My notes agree that property is inherited by children of a deceased man's sister, but my informants said that a new chieftain is normally the eldest son of the principal wife of the dead chief. Chatelain's folklore stories, fifty in number, relate chiefly to animals; this was the only kind of story told to me, but W. C. Bell has recorded a few tales of another type. 173 [114] [764] [611] [604] [428] [538]

Marquardsen (1928) devotes only one-fourth of his book to the ethnology of Angola, which he treats in a very general way; there is no section dealing specifically with any particular tribe. The author calls attention to Chapman's observation of rock paintings of South African Bushman type, between Cuma and Luimbale in northwest Angola. I have elsewhere remarked on the occasional occurrence of physical types which show a strain of Bushman blood. Today Bushmen penetrate southern Angola from the Kalahari (Plate LXIX, Figs. 1, 2), but their presence in times past or present does not affect the course of history or the data of ethnology to an appreciable extent. 114 177 [531] [144]

Marquardsen gives some notes of a general kind on Vaheneca, Mahuila and other tribes of southwest Angola. The suggestion is feasible that the Umbundu name Suku, for a supreme being, is the same as the Nzambi of Lunda and the Congo. Marquardsen refers to the importance of the maternal uncle in Umbundu society, to the poison ordeal, and to the burial of an Umbundu chief in oxhide, all of which points were recorded in my observations at Elende. 114 101

Ferreira Diniz's book is unobtainable, but, judging from the summary given in *Anthropos* (XX, 1925, pp. 321–331), the information was collected by a questionnaire widely distributed among adminis-

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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173 The Hungarian explorer L. Magyar collected in the

middle of the nineteenth century, in the eastern Umbundu kingdom of Bie, an historical legend which linked Bie origins to the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo.[18] Childs has suggested[19] that this legend was in fact not of Umbundu origin since later investigators from Serpa Pinto[20] (1878) to Childs himself (1938) have found that Bie traditions emphasized the local origins of the dynasty. This may of course be a case of the African tendency to manipulate historical narratives to accord with social relationships. It may be suggested that the Lunda traditions, which the core of the Jaga hordes carried with them, became diluted by the recruitment from the conquered peoples, and that the link between the Umbundu royal houses and the Northern Lunda were forgotten because the kings of the Ovimbundu felt no need, unlike the weak Luena and Ndembu chiefs,[21] to prop up their position by stressing their links with the mighty Mwata Yamvo.

175 177 By the end of the eighteenth century the Umbundu kingdoms that were to survive until the end of Umbundu independence were already well established.[22] In 1769 the first Portuguese fort in the Benguela Highland, that at Caconda, was established, and a few years later a king of Bie was to owe his throne to Portuguese intervention.[23] Trade in slaves had begun with the Jagas; but other items such as beeswax and ivory were bought by the bare-footed Kimbundu traders who came from the Portuguese settlements on the Cuanza (founded between 1582 and 1671); and by 1782 there existed small colonies of Portuguese traders in Bie and Caconda.[24]

175 177 439

Portuguese political influence was weak, and the kings con-

[18] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Sud-Afrika*, Pest and Leipzig, 1839, pp. 266–269.

[19] Childs, p. 173.

[20] A. Serpa Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, London, 1881. Vol. I, pp. 156–60.

[21] For Luena and Ndembu chiefs, see C. M. N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization' (*Africa*, January 1957), and V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*, Manchester, 1957. For African attitudes to the recording of the past see J. A. Barnes, 'History in a Changing Society'. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 1951, No. 11, Ian Cunnison, *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 21, and L. Bohannan, 'A Genealogical Charter', *Africa*, October 1952. Mr. White informs me that the Luena regard the Bie kingdom as being of Northern Lunda origin.

[22] Childs, pp. 167–8.

[23] Ibid., pp. 174, 195.

[24] Ibid., p. 198.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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CHAPTER III

CHIEFS AND HEADMEN IN GUMBA

1. *The History of Gumba*

The historical perspective of Ovimbundu is short. Few, even elders, know of any landmark earlier than the Mutu-ya-Kevela rising of 1902–3, nor even for those who had participated in it did the time of the rubber trade form a Golden Age by which the present is judged. The period about which most was remembered was the reign of Mbati.[1]

Mbati had ruled over both Gumba and Chicunda, a union which had existed only during his lifetime, and which would have given him on present-day population figures 7,500–9,000 subjects.[2] He had managed to keep in his own hands the relations between his people and the government post. Policemen arriving at his capital to recruit labourers were entertained while Mbati's ministers got together the men required. Although an upholder of the traditional rites associated with chieftancy he had been on good terms with the missionaries and allowed a Catholic catechist to settle in his village. One of his sons became a Protestant schoolteacher near the railway line, another entered the Catholic seminary but left and became a policeman in Cela. Many of the numerous progeny provided by his seventeen wives are still living in Gumba.

Mbati's downfall came through his practising the traditional annual ritual cannibalism (*oku lia ekongo*). About 1934–5 he was banished for this to another part of Umbundu country.

[text continues on p. 37]

[1] L. Magyar marks a place called Gumba on his map (opposite to page 1) but puts it to the south of the capital of Bailundo. As he does not seem to have personal knowledge of this area, this does not rule out identification, especially as the Cuvo begins to the south of Bailundo.

[2] For the basis of this estimate see section 2 of this chapter.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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Some ten years later he was allowed to return to Gumba but died on the way back.

His successor was Simbwyikoka, who was a mother's brother's son of Mbati, that is in Umbundu terminology a 'son'. Umbundu rules of succession allow anybody to succeed to a chiefdom who is paternally or maternally related to a previous chief, whether or not this relationship is genealogically traceable.[3]

Simbwyikoka was apparently nominated to act as regent during Mbati's absence, and as he did not complete the full cycle of chiefly rites he did not have quite the same prestige among the people as a chief in his own right who 'had finished', that is, had gone through all the rites. It was he who was the last ruler of Gumba to send the annual tribute in the form of a sack of fish to Bailundo, since it was a little after the time of his accession that Kandimba[4] (or Njahulu), the last of the Bailundo royal house to have any real authority over the kingdom, died.

Simbwyikoka had lived at the hamlet of Kamballa in Gumba. When he took up office he did not settle at Mbati's village of Katembo, but established, or rather re-established, as a previous chief had ruled there, his capital[5] on the top of the narrow ridge which cuts off the greater part of Gumba from access by road. It was not possible for many people to settle on this site. Accordingly Simbwyikoka encouraged people to settle at the foot of the ridge, swelling the population of an already existing village. This was called Mwekalia from the headman, who held the office of Mwekalia[6] another ministerial title associated with the chiefly court.

In 1938 Simbwyikoka was deposed by the *chefe* for shielding his dependents from the operation of 'contract labour' (administrative recruitment of non-voluntary labour). About 1944

[3] My informants. This means that within (and outside) any sub-chiefdom there are a number of potential heirs who in no way receive any special status or form any kind of corporate group from this fact.

[4] Reigned at Bailundo 1911–35. Childs, p. 229

[5] In Umbundu Ombala, often transcribed in Portuguese as Embala.

[6] For the role of Mwekalia see Hastings, p. 59. His statement that the office is matrilineally inherited was not confirmed by my informants. It seems that it can be inherited either patrilineally or matrilineally. The man who was known as Mwekalia and had been headman of the village of that name did not function as such at the chief's court during my stay. A kinsman of his, Ngombe, acted as Mwekalia at the court of Lussac.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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173 634 166 Simbwyikoka founded a new village known by his name. In 1951 one of his sons, Sassungu, founded a new village Sassungu whose population originated with a group of people from his father's village. Simbwyikoka maintained contact with Kamballa, where another son, Felisi, lived and herded Simbwyikoka's cattle.

173 634 [648] The new chief was Kakope, a son of Tjiweka who had been chief of Gumba at the time of the Muta-ya-Kevela rising. He held office for only two years, being deposed by the *chefe* since ill-health made monthly visits to the post difficult for him. He was succeeded by Kafelo, who came to Gumba from Cassongue across the river. Kafelo was a cross-cousin of Mbati and paternal kinsman of Kakope. Having gone through the cycle of chiefly rites, and undertaken Mbati's funeral he was regarded as being fully chief, in a way that Simbwyikoka was not.

The Epalanga[7] of a chief is a minister chosen from among the chief's kin. Kafelo had nominated to this post Sapapula, a matrilateral 'brother' of his and an inhabitant of Menga. Sapapula moved into Gumba and founded the village of [166] Epalanga in 1945–6, where he was joined by various kinsmen. I have heard the foundation of Epalanga ascribed to another man, Mwehombo, who will be mentioned again, and should therefore be introduced. Mwehombo had been minister at the court of Mbati, his mother's brother. After Mbati's death Mwehombo had stayed at Katembo till 1941, when he settled in Menga with his kinsman Sapapula. Mwehombo crossed over to Gumba in 1944.[8]

173 634 646 In 1954 Kafelo was deposed by the *chefe*, as Kafelo had been drunk in his presence. Kutenga Lusase, who had in 1945 founded the village of Kamupa, saw his chance and told the *chefe* that he had been chosen chief according to custom. The people of Gumba did not complain about this to the post, as they were afraid of the consequences. Kutenga Lusase claimed to be related to Mbati and Simbwyikoka and was a matrilateral 'grandson' of Tjiweka. He was not related to Kafelo whose link to Tjiweka was a patrilateral one.

Kutenga Lusase was in his turn deposed by the *chefe* in 1956

[7] Hastings, p. 33.

[8] Information from his 'brother', Lusaga.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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for lack of effectiveness following a series of quarrels. His successor was Tjilombo a government headman and the leading personality of the village of Tjisangu. Such, then, is the recent history of Gumba.

2. *Chiefs, Government Headmen, and Traditional Headmen*

I have outlined the succession of chiefs in Gumba, and the villages with which they were associated. I have noted that nowadays there are government headmen as well as the traditional headmen. I wish now to indicate what authority the chiefs and the two sorts of headmen have and how this is related to the villages.

The sub-chiefdom is a recognized administrative unit. The census, and the annual check on the census, are taken on a sub-chiefdom basis, as are the collection of taxes and the recruitment of workers for contract labour, road work, and jobs to be done at the post. The sub-chief and the government headmen have to visit the post once a month. The *chefe de posto* (head of post = District Officer) will normally only visit each sub-chiefdom once a year for the check on the census. He may send orders for the recruitment of labourers or the arrest of an offender by one of the policemen who live at the post. His principal contact with the people comes in the adjudicating of disputes which the people are quite ready to carry to the post—the Bimbe *chefe*, whose area included Gumba, told me that hearing cases was his main occupation. Very few *chefes* have anything more than a smattering of the Umbundu language, and they have only the vaguest knowledge of the culture and social usages—for instance they may be aware of the classificatory extension of kinship terms and the association of leopardskins with chieftancy. The *chefes* are moved about fairly frequently and their names and personalitie tare not known to the people. As the people associate the post with demands for taxes, fines, and labour services, and are only likely to visit the post when recruited as non-voluntary labourers or to have their photographs taken for identity cards, it is not surprising that fear is the predominant emotion they feel towards the *chefe*.

The staff of the post consists of the interpreter, an African